

New York Tribune.

First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements.

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July Prospects. II.

In yesterday's Tribune the Galician campaign and the British conditions were discussed. Looking now at the Dardanelles it is plain that a campaign begun by a blunder has continued as a rather ghastly failure. To undertake the reduction of the forts without the aid of land forces and depending solely upon warships was to fly in the face of all experience. It proved, too, that it was an unwise defiance of military precept. The naval attack ended in disaster and advertised to the Turk the approach of a land attack. The land attack, made with insufficient forces, against well fortified ground defended by admirable soldiers excellently commanded, has so far been fruitful in little more than casualty lists.

Yet it is fair to say that the Dardanelles expedition did contribute largely to enlightening Italy, it has had an enormous effect upon Bulgaria, and seems to have brought Greece almost to the point of casting her lot with the foes of Germany. An Italian expedition to Gallipoli, now discussed, would only accentuate this situation and the entrance of Bulgaria would close the history of the Ottoman in Europe. We shall do well in thinking of the Dardanelles operation to recall the Sebastopol campaign, which was one long failure ending in complete success.

If the Allies have, as yet, made no real progress toward the capture of Constantinople they have recalled Turkish troops from the Caucasus and Egypt, they have shaken the Balkan fabric to its foundation, and the slightest prospect of actual victory must inevitably enlist new allies and threaten not Turkey but Austria. It is well to recall, too, that the Constantinople campaign is only a side issue for the Allies, but for the Turk it is a matter of life and death, and for Austria it is almost as important as the Galician campaign.

As to the Italian operations, present disappointment rests chiefly upon undue expectation. Austria holds the gates to Northern Italy. She has spent years and millions in fortifying them. Until these fortifications, flanked by mighty mountains and protected by Alpine torrents, are reduced Italy can do little. Against them she must throw her main forces, because unless these gates are taken she has to fear an eventual German eruption wholly similar to that which has just cleared Galicia. Venice, Verona, even Milan, the whole Po Valley may be swept by a new drive if Italian effort does not block the Adige gateway.

On the other hand the entrance of Italy has been the greatest fact in the war since the German drive to Paris broke down. More and more the pressure of a fresh million of men upon a new frontier will demand German and Austrian attention. Ammunition, men, artillery will be recalled from the east and the west to defend the south. Six months from now the Italian influence will be felt appreciably, whether Italian corps are then fighting in Flanders or Carniola. Again, Italy's entrance puts the destiny of the Mediterranean in the hands of the Allies. The prizes the smaller nations of Eastern Europe long for are now within the gift of the anti-German alliance. To Rumania, Greece, Bulgaria, Germany and Austria can give only money, but to Greece and Bulgaria the anti-German alliance can give portions of the Turk's estate.

It is well, then, in taking an account of stock at this time to avoid attaching too great importance to the incidents of the month, or even of the year. We shall do well to accept as the basis of all our computation the fact that German victory can be achieved only if one of two things happens: if Germany succeeds in obtaining a complete decision over one of her foes, or if one of the great nations allied against her grows weary or makes a separate peace. Twice Germany has sought a decision in the east. Both times she has failed. The Russian military power has not been crushed or eliminated. Her efforts at the Marne and in Flanders were equally unsuccessful. France was not disposed of, suffered incidental defeats, and came back when German offensive slackened and Germany had to turn east. So we may expect Russia to come back if German effort is relinquished.

Going back to the Civil War, it will be recalled that Lee twice sought a decision while Confederate prospects were still favorable. Both times he penetrated into hostile soil, both times he won incidental successes. But he could not destroy the Army of the Potomac at Antietam or at Gettysburg, and to win he had to destroy the

army; all occupation of territory else was of no avail. In 1814, in the campaign in France, Napoleon defeated the several invading armies one after another. But he failed to destroy them. When he turned from one to another, the beaten army rallied and returned.

As the last month of the first year opens, then, it is clear Germany has nowhere achieved a decision over any enemy and nowhere seems to have a decision within her grasp. As for any evidence of weariness on the part of her foes, not even the Germans claim this, and the coming of Italy shows what the Italian statesmen who risked their nation's fortune on the throw actually thought. But one of these things must happen or Germany will ultimately be beaten, not in one year, perhaps not in five. This is a question of arithmetic, of men, money, ammunition. Twice, once before Paris, once about Lodi, the decision was within Germany's grasp, but she missed it; she seems to have missed a third time in Galicia, and in the meantime acquired a new enemy; instead of decision, eliminating one great power, she has had to face a diplomatic defeat bringing in a fourth great power.

Napoleon and Frederick the Great both faced great coalitions possessing better armies and themselves superior generals, but with resources and numbers against them. Napoleon succumbed to the last coalition because he could not obtain a decision against one nor make terms with one. Frederick was saved in the hour of deadliest peril because the death of a Russian sovereign removed Russia from the battle line of his foes. The South in the Civil War, against great odds, won victories that prolonged the contest, but could not win a decisive victory. Thus in the end numbers and resources told. In all three cases the lesson is the same.

We Americans will also do well in judging German official and public opinion to remember that with some justice Germans believe that American justice is contributing to prevent the attaining of the decision. Ultimately France, Great Britain, Russia and Italy will be able to distance Germany and Austria in the production of ammunition. But thanks to her foresight Germany had the advantage at the start, still retains it. By this advantage she plainly hoped to obtain a decision. But if American ammunition bridges the gap, keeps the Allies supplied until they have mobilized their industry, then, in a sense, American ammunition has saved the Allies.

More than this, later, when Germany begins to feel the shortage of men, she will have to keep many thousands in the factories to make ammunition, while the American production will release French and British, Russian and Italian soldiers to work in the trenches. Unquestionably the Germans have cried out long in advance of real injury. The volume of American ammunition actually exported as yet amounts to nothing, but unless the export is prevented it may be a deciding factor a year or two hence, and Germany thinks in terms of the future.

New York City vs. Upstate.

According to Secretary of State Hugo the state census returns indicate a total population of 10,000,000, of which the metropolis contributes 5,250,000. In the Federal census of 1910 the state was credited with 9,113,614 inhabitants, of which number 4,766,883 were allotted to New York City. On that basis this city now harbors half a million souls more than all the territory "upstate," a gain of 100,000 over the lead in population credited to it by the Federal census five years ago.

With the knowledge that the metropolis is bound to increase this lead in population over all the rest of the state, with the knowledge that it contributes far more than half the funds for state government, of which little benefits this city directly, taxpayers here cannot take joyfully the decision of the Constitutional Convention to continue discrimination against the city in legislative representation. They cannot wrest any contentment out of the statement that because there has been discrimination against the city since 1777 it is right that discrimination should continue. They cannot even find comfort in the argument that thousands on thousands of the people here are neither citizens nor taxpayers, for the fact remains that any renter in this city is a taxpayer, even though indirectly. And the discrepancy between the voting population of the 23d Assembly District of New York County and that of Schuylcr or Putnam or Yates County is sufficiently striking to vitiate the contention that on citizenship population alone there are not glaring discriminations against the city.

Heretofore the distribution of legislative representatives has bothered New York City little. The city has suffered at the hands of upstaters who dominated the lawmakers; but there has never been so serious a situation as that which laid on New York this year a heavy and unnecessary state tax. That tax, when it has to be provided for out of the city treasury, will be well-nigh disastrous. Real estate here now is taxed far over its market value in many instances. For its own legitimate running expenses the city is burdened almost to the point of exhaustion. To provide for this state tax will mean, therefore, a forced curtailment of some valuable forms of municipal activity—and the people here are not going to take such deprivation lightly.

The Constitutional Convention thinks it has settled the question of legislative discrimination. This city will refuse to believe that it is settled until the new constitution is drafted and adopted or rejected. New York has no desire to domi-

nate the rest of the state; it has now a most intense desire that the rest of the state shall not dominate this city to its harm.

Matt Shay.

Gentlemen become bald and corpulent and gray and unimaginative, but they never wholly outlive their boyhood admiration of the locomotive engineer. The majority of them may have announced once to parents or playmates that when they grew up they would become locomotive engineers, and if only society had room enough for so many manipulators of the throttle perhaps these good citizens might have been happier and better had they followed their early inclinations. A man can't drive an engine and be less than a man.

Matthew H. Shay was one of those boys who did realize his early ambition. He became an engine driver and a good one, and a real man and a good one, so that his reputation spread among his kind and caused them in time to elect him grand secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Possibly only Warren S. Stone, the grand chief, is better known to the heroes of the cab than was Matt Shay. And now Matt is dead and the world is the loser, for such men dignify labor, add romance to the soiled overalls and the tin dinner pail and make an honest wage to appear the noblest reward of life.

Fortunately, before he died the Erie Railroad had named the greatest locomotive in the world after him. Only a few men live to see monuments erected to them, and fewer still to see their own reincarnation. May the Matt Shay that survives continue for many years to do the work of mankind in memory of the Matt now at rest!

Chickens Come Home to Roost.

While the whole world is familiar with the fact that chickens will come home to roost, there is little literature extant descriptive of the sensations of those who have to feed and care for them on their return. Certain Albany politicians, nevertheless, must be experiencing those sensations in the highest degree because of a recent ruling of the State City Service Commission. That ruling declares that ninety-six places under the recently created State Industrial Commission must be filled by competitive examination. At one cruel blow it takes ninety-six fat jobs out of the domain of political spoils and to all remonstrances and protests the commission answers that the law says it shall be thus and not otherwise.

Now, this is the more grievous in that there existed no particular reason for creating the State Industrial Commission except to legislate certain officeholders out of place and put many would-be officeholders into place. The Labor Department and the Workmen's Compensation Commission were doing excellent work separately. Certain theorists on industrial legislation believed a better organization would be possible if they were combined in one department; certain hungry politicians took up the theory, and passed the law, never noticing the one really good point in the whole measure—that stipulating that all save five places in the new department should be competitive.

The chickens have come home to roost. There is grave doubt whether the important task of protecting factory workers and the equally important task of supervising payments for industrial accidents can be performed as well under this new department as they were before it was created. There is no doubt that many who worked and voted for the change, hoping to profit directly or indirectly thereby, are now extremely busy kicking themselves.

German News and British Censorship.

That troublesome inquisitor, Sir Arthur Markham, failed to draw from the Home Secretary a direct answer to the question: "Why should we have to get the truth from American newspapers?" But he did succeed in securing some information about the policy of the censor in dealing with German news. Sir John Simon answered that "the Press Bureau exercised censorship over German wireless news only when it contained statements that were obviously false."

In the early days of the censorship the Press Bureau occasionally suffered some wild stories to be published on the very same pretext; but let that pass. The important point is that determination of the "obviously false" allows much latitude to the judgment and discretion of the official editors, and to believe that they are wholly unbiased or invariably just in the selection of truth would be to credit them with an infallibility seldom granted to any official agency out of the German Empire.

It is possible, however, to single out some messages that might be stopped on their way through England without the world suffering any very serious loss. One of these which has at last leaked through to us by way of Sayville tells of what the German submarines have done to the British navy. We are asked to believe that since the beginning of the war the commanders of the U-boats have been so active that they have actually contrived to sink no fewer than twenty "ships of the first battle-line of the British fleet."

This surprising piece of news was first made public in a Stockholm paper, with the remark that it was "anxiously kept secret by the British Admiralty, which was fearful of a considerable decrease in the superiority of the British fleet over the Germans." Nor can the British Admiralty be blamed for showing a certain apprehension. After the loss of twenty battleships even the most incorrigible optimist would be very apt to fear that in time the decrease might come to be "considerable." What cannot be so easily accounted for is the igno-

rance of the Imperial Ministry of Marine. There has been a great deal of boasting about the warfare on commerce. Whenever a fishing vessel has been sunk the German people have been duly informed of the exploit. Yet for the news of the twenty battleships they had to go to Stockholm.

The only probable explanation is that the news came to the Ministry of Marine by way of the newspapers, and this can be accounted for only on the supposition that the submarine commanders themselves were ignorant of what they had done. But whatever the real explanation may be, we certainly owe a great debt to the enterprising reporter of Stockholm and should be very grateful that in spite of the British censor we can still get the truth via Sayville, Long Island.

Anarchy Advertising Itself.

It seems pretty well established that the bomb exploded at Police Headquarters represented an attempt to advertise what might be called Professional Anarchy. The bomb is the political tool of the anarchist agitator, just as it is the commercial tool of the Black Hand extortionist. The Black Hand wastes no energy trying to make war on the police. He is busy enough striking terror into the hearts of those whom he has marked as profitable victims.

The little circle of preachers of anarchy cannot maintain its prestige with its dupes unless it occasionally inspires some more or less dramatic deed of lawlessness—the sort of lawlessness in which greed is not an element. Hence explosions like those in the Bronx County Court House and at Police Headquarters. These outrages represent a defiance of the existing order. But coming from a group which constitutes only an infinitesimal portion of the community they are hardly more of a threat to public security than are the sporadic acts of a similar nature due to purely individual derangement.

The professional anarchist to-day is a meager and smaller figure than he was thirty years ago, in the time of Most and the Haymarket massacre. Then there was a larger element here ready to listen to and apply the doctrine of destruction. Now anarchism is losing its hold the world over, because very few serious preachers of revolt are willing to content themselves with its primitive emptiness and narrowness.

Our little anarchist community is more bent on self-exploitation nowadays than it is on a real war against society. It is a sign of growing caution and sophistication on its part that it blows up buildings instead of taking human life. The risk is less and the notoriety is equally satisfying.

"I have received a subpoena," Mrs. Evelyn Shaw is quoted as saying, "and will be in court to-day; but I know my constitutional rights and cannot be made to testify." The same constitutional rights are possessed by the horse when led to water.

For inappropriate Independence Day sentiment we award the prize to our Vice-President, who remarked: "Let the President of the United States tell us when it is time to get mad."

Those who would censure the President for touching off fireworks on the Fourth should remember that not even in politics has the "safe and sane" idea appealed to him.

Perhaps those anarchists who tried to blow up Police Headquarters are also peace-at-any-price advocates.

Sleepy Hollow Has Gay Holiday—Headline. For once wide awake and full?

Warsaw seems forever to be seeing it.

D'Albert's Nationality.

From The Westminster Gazette.
Advices from Germany have made known the fact that Eugen d'Albert, the famous pianist, has become an Austrian citizen. The problem of d'Albert's nationality has long been a subject of controversy. For while it is an unquestionable fact that he was actually born at Glasgow and received the first part of his musical training in London, it is a matter of common knowledge that he long ago repudiated the notion that he could be ranked on this account as a Briton. Unlike Gilbert's patriotic sailor, in spite of all temptations to remain an Englishman, he has persistently and passionately professed his allegiance to another nation.

He once wrote: "My youth amid foreign surroundings where I was neither understood nor esteemed was not happy. I was a German through and through, my father, in spite of his name, was a born German, and so were my grandparents." D'Albert forgot to add, however, that his mother was an English woman, born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, while his father—the well known dancing master and writer of dance music—though born at Altona, was none the less the son of a captain of French artillery and of a German mother whose ancestors were Russian. His ancestry must be accounted, therefore, distinctly mixed.

Infant Heirs to Thrones.

From The Dundee Advertiser.
The coming of age of the Prince of Wales calls attention to the numerous cases in which at the present time there are infant heirs-apparent to European thrones. Thus, Prince Frederick of Denmark was sixteen last March, and Prince Leopold of Belgium will be fourteen next November. Prince Olaf of Norway will be twelve next month, and Prince Humbert of Italy eleven in September. The Czarévitch will be eleven in August, and Prince Alfonso of Spain and Princess Juliana of Holland were eight and six, respectively, in May last. As regards the others, the Bulgarian Crown Prince came of age last January, Prince Carol of Rumania will be twenty-two next October, Prince George of Greece twenty-five next July, the Archduke Charles Francis Joseph twenty-eight in August. The heir to the Serbian throne is twenty-seven, Gustav Adolf of Sweden will be thirty-three in November, while the Crown Prince of Germany was thirty-three last May. The two oldest heirs are Prince Danilo of Montenegro, who will be forty-four next Tuesday, Prince Yussouf Iseidin, the Sultan's heir, who is fifty-eight.

For an International Straitjacket.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: Germany is an outlaw, and must be forced into an international straitjacket. This may require two or three years and the cooperation of Christendom, but it will be done. Let us prepare to do our part. I didn't raise my boy to be a coward.
F. M. T.
New York, July 4, 1915.

THE SPRING DRIVE.



ANTI-SUFFRAGE ARGUMENT

Nothing United Women Cannot Get from Men's Government.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: The Tribune has taken an admirable stand on the advertising question, but it seems scarcely fair to its readers who are anti-suffrage in sentiment. It is very difficult to get anti-suffrage letters published in the columns of your admirable paper, though letters from suffragists are fairly numerous. This morning Oreola Haskell had an interesting one of the latter type.

This lady makes the mistake of thinking that the possession of votes by women would bring in the millennium in a very short time. She thinks because a small number of intelligent women want votes that woman suffrage should immediately be granted. So it should, if only those intelligent women were to possess the suffrage. But as yet no suffragist has satisfactorily explained what the advantage of the suffrage would be in our Eastern states, where the intelligent, educated women are so greatly in the minority. Incidentally, I could mention that no suffragist has yet explained why the State of Colorado within the last twenty-one years has been a hotbed of political corruption.

All the good things that have come to woman in the last fifty years—higher education, the right to dispose of her own property, etc.—would have come without any one's fighting, as they are the result of the development of enlightened public opinion. At the present time there is nothing that the women of this country could not get from the men's government if they were united in the demand for it. It is only the fact that the majority of women are either indifferent to woman suffrage or opposed to it that prevents its existing at this moment. It is estimated that only eight per cent of the women of this country are real estate owners. Of these a fair percentage are anti-suffrage in sentiment. To demand a radical change in government for the small number left would be undemocratic, to say the least.

Oreola Haskell is also mistaken in saying that "politics regulates all interests that pertain to the home and the children." It is the parents who do this, and upon the character of these parents depends the welfare of the child. Not all the political influence in the world can implant intelligence in the brain of a stupid father or wise patience in a violent tempered mother. The most efficient board of health cannot transform a lazy slattern into a pink of neatness with a profound knowledge of sanitation. And the most perfect school teacher cannot prevent children with parents such as these suffering from the defects of their characters. Good schools and efficient boards of health are desirable and necessary institutions, but it is foolish to ascribe to them powers they do not possess.

The wage-earning woman has the same opportunity to regulate the conditions of her work as the wage-earning man—by organization. The latter gains his ends by means of labor organizations—not by votes. This is a simple and obvious fact, but many suffragists seem to be unable to understand it. In closing let me say that the above remarks deal with facts—not with "mists of thought."
ROSE H. PHELPS.
Stony Creek, Conn., July 2, 1915.

Ireland's Grievance.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: In reply to Mr. Longshoreman and others about Ireland, it seems strange that while thousands of Irish want to do their duty toward their country and fight so bravely at the front the Irish in this country should unite themselves with the Germans and try to harm England. First of all, they forget that if they belonged to Germany or France they would not have any chance at all to emigrate. They would be shot before, as they would have to fight whether they would or not. The English government must not be so bad after all.
Ireland is still sore at England, who vanquished her seven hundred years ago; but her story is the story of all countries. Are they not all formed from parts taken to other countries after war? Now for her sufferings! Other countries had theirs, too.

NEW YORK AND SECESSION

Threats at Different Times from Different Sections.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: In our newspapers and on the floor of the Constitutional Convention itself the threat has recently been made that if the convention does not grant to New York City some satisfactory measure of home rule and relief from excessive taxation the city will secede from the state. This agitation recalls efforts in the past to disintegrate the state when one section or another had not been fairly treated by the whole.

The present state government was formed in 1777. After the Revolution, in 1787, a constitutional convention was held at Poughkeepsie for the purpose of discussing the adoption of the Federal Constitution. A political battle royal had taken place between the adherents of Governor George Clinton on the one side, and of John Jay, Alexander Hamilton and Philip Schuyler on the other. Clinton had been victorious, and when the convention met at Poughkeepsie his friends outnumbered his foes about forty-three to twenty-two. Clinton was opposed to the adoption of the Federal Constitution without an agreement to amend it. At that time the merchants and residents of New York City were strongly in favor of the adoption of the Constitution immediately without amendment, and they threatened vigorously to secede unless their desire was granted. It was pointed out that the eastern part of New Jersey and the southern part of New York would make an admirable state, and that if the upstate residents did not accede to their desires they must take the consequences. The convention itself arrived at a satisfactory compromise by which the Constitution was approved upon the agreement of Jay and Hamilton to urge the amendments desired by the upstaters.

The next serious attempt to secede was made by a business faction in that part of the State of New York lying west of what is known as the Pre-emption Line, which runs north and south through Seneca Lake. John Livingston and some business friends of his from Hudson and surrounding country had obtained from the Iroquois a long lease of the land in Western New York, and when these leases were abrogated by the State of New York conferences were called in what was then known as the far-off Genesee country, and efforts were made to have the inhabitants secede and set up a new state. A convention of the conspirators was held at Geneva in 1789 and vigorous threats were made to repudiate the authority of the state. A compromise was finally arrived at by which Livingston and his friends received the title to one hundred square miles of land in the Old Military Tract, and the desire for secession died out.

Perhaps the most discussed suggestion of secession was made by Fernando Wood, the well-known Mayor of New York, in 1861. Wood was a politician of great ability. He held his power against the opposition of both Tammany Hall and the highbrows. On January 7 he stated the advantages of the secession of New York City, not only for the State of New York but from the Federal Union itself. In his message to the Board of Aldermen he said in part:

"Why should not New York City, instead of supporting by her contributions in revenue two-thirds of the United States, become, also, equally independent? As a free city, with a nominal duty on imports, her local government could be supported without taxation upon her people. . . . Thus we could live free from taxes and have cheap goods nearly duty free. . . . Why may not New York disrupt the bonds which bind her to a vassal and corrupt master—to a people and a party that have plundered her revenues, attempted to ruin her commerce, taken away the power of self-government? . . .

This proposition was looked upon by many as a cynical attempt to gild at those statesmen in the Southern states who were then proposing secession. But in any event his statement stirred up a very vigorous discussion. It gave Horace Greeley, in The Tribune, an opportunity to write one of his exhorting editorials, in which he declared that the Mayor had every desire to be a traitor, but had not the proper amount of intelligence. But Fernando Wood seemed to thrive on this sort of attack.

STEVEN B. AYRES.
The Bronx, July 4, 1915.

The Daily Menu.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: Good morning! How will you have your propaganda this morning—in a bullet, in a newspaper or in a stick of dynamite?
NELSON B. GREENE.
New York, July 4, 1915.